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The Two Henry Redhead Yorkes, radical to liberal: BAME presence in British Politics, 1790-1850

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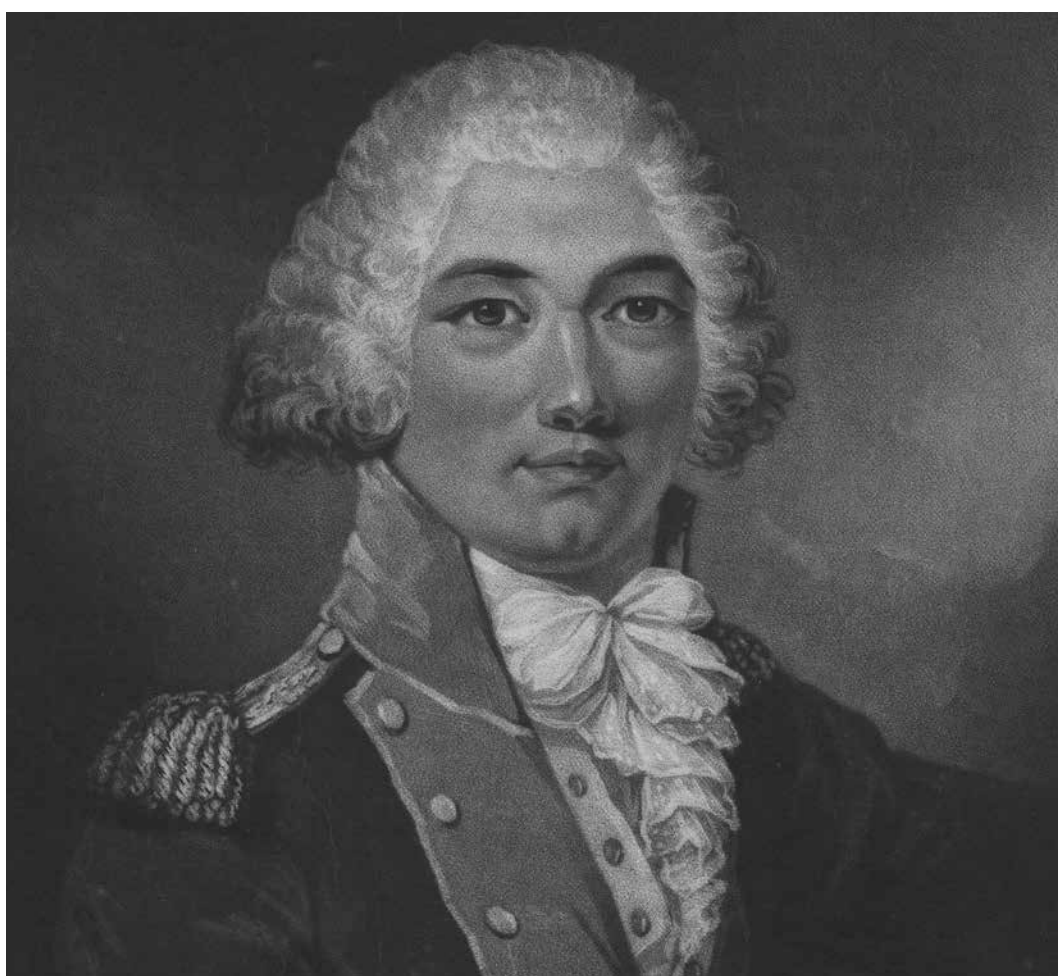
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BME politicians in Britain

Amanda Goodrich examines the histories of two – hitherto unsuspected – BME politicians in early radical and Liberal politics

The two Henry Redhead Yorke The BME presence in British politics



Henry Redhead Yorke
by James Ward,
published by and
after William Hay
mezzotint, published
21 July 1796
(© National Portrait
Gallery, London)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF black and mixed ethnicity (BME) people in British history has long been underestimated.¹ Recent research has attempted to restore such forgotten people to their rightful place in history.² We know that black people have been present in Britain as far back as the Roman invasion. There were many black Georgians who lived and worked alongside their white counterparts in occupations such as seamen, soldiers, servants, performers and shopkeepers.³

It was fashionable for the elite to employ black men and boys as liveried servants and pages to adorn the halls and parlours of their mansions. Francis Barber, born a slave in Jamaica, became manservant to Dr Samuel Johnson.⁴ Also well-known is the story of Dido Elizabeth Belle, dual-heritage great-niece of Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice, who lived with him in London partially as a family member; Mansfield was famous for his role as judge on the status of slaves in England in the Somerset Case of 1772.

Yorke, Radical to Liberal: British politics 1790–1850

A few became wealthy, such as Ignatius Sancho, who gained sufficient wealth and property to be the first black Briton known to have voted in the Westminster elections in 1774 and 1780. He also moved in elite literary circles in London.

The main focus of BME history in the Georgian period (1714–1830) has been slavery and abolition, and the lives of Africans who migrated to Britain after escaping slavery, such as Sancho, Oloudah Equiano, Quobna Ottobah Cugoana and Mary Prince. Yet little has been discovered about BME individuals engaged with politics in Britain. This is partly because they or their ethnicity are often absent from the archives and from other biographical material. Further, those from marginal groups or on the fringes of English society were less likely than English gentlemen to leave personal documents on their death, so their life histories are harder to trace. Thus, biographies written today of such BME individuals are often incomplete, with many absences and silences.

My recently published biography of Henry Redhead Yorke (1772–1813) illustrates that it is possible to discover BME individuals engaged in politics in Britain by searching an extensive variety of sources.⁵ This article focuses on Yorke, who engaged with English radical and later Whig/Liberal and Tory extra-parliamentary politics, and his son, Henry Galgacus Redhead Yorke (1802–1848), who became a Liberal MP for York in 1841. It will explore how, in part due to their different identities in terms of class and ethnicity, as perceived by themselves and others, they ultimately achieved different positions within English society and politics.

Yorke belonged to a significant but small BME cohort in Georgian Britain: the offspring of liaisons between the plantation owners of British descent who had worked and/or lived in the West Indies and local enslaved or free BME

women.⁶ West Indian plantation owners were often very wealthy, on a par with the wealthiest elite in England. Their illegitimate children could, if their father so wished, benefit from the family fortune. It was common for planters to retire ‘home’ to England even if in fact they were born in the West Indies. When they immigrated to England, they often bought a country seat, which was then occupied by an entourage of extended family, including BME servants, mistresses and illegitimate children.

The presence of such families in rural Britain was often viewed as a flagrant flaunting of sexual impropriety between planters and slaves. The miscegenation so reviled in the West Indies was now on the doorstep in Britain. It represented the failure to regulate families and assert ideals of English masculinity in the colonies. Yet the planters’ wealth gave them implicit privileges that were sometimes granted to their BME children – privileges not generally shared by other BME people in Britain at the time. For example, they could educate their BME sons as gentlemen in public schools and elite universities, enabling them to enter the law, city institutions and, theoretically, politics. Whilst the English elite often derided such incomers as *nouveau riche*, they were still keen to marry their younger sons and daughters off to the children of wealthy West Indian planters to boost the family coffers. This suggests a fairly open elite in Britain, but the class system was not entirely porous and when family trees merged through such marriages the black ancestry was generally suppressed.⁷

There was no legal bar against BME men from the British colonies entering parliament.⁸ The concept of national identity, as we interpret it today, was not yet established in Georgian England but only emerging, and passports were not required for travel. The qualification

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for political rights within Britain, such as the right to vote or to become a member of parliament, was based on property ownership. Those from the colonies but living in Britain were not legally excluded from the political rights enjoyed by Englishmen.

However, in the eighteenth century both houses of parliament were dominated by the nobility, who did not generally welcome interlopers from the colonies. West Indian plantation owners and their descendants infrequently made their way into the British parliament by taking advantage of the corrupt system: buying rotten boroughs and votes at high prices to thwart the nobility. But evidence that any such West Indians were of black or mixed ethnicity is often absent from the archives. Indeed, no BME members of parliament have been identified in the Georgian period by the History of Parliament Trust, and only two have as yet been identified in the period 1832–68: John Stewart, MP for Lymington, 1832–47, the illegitimate son of a West Indian plantation owner; and David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, MP for Sudbury, 1841–42, who was of European and Indian ethnicity.⁹ One problem in tracing any such members of parliament is that the original volumes of the *History of Parliament* in the Georgian period did not record BME ethnicities.

Historians have identified a few Georgian BME individuals who did not enter parliament but took on roles in local government or extra-parliamentary politics. For example, Nathaniel Wells became deputy lieutenant of Monmouthshire; Equiano and Cugoana both engaged with reform politics as well as slave abolition; and the BME radicals Robert Wedderburn and William Davidson were prominent in early nineteenth-century extra-parliamentary politics.

Both Yorke and his son were engaged with British politics, but neither was identified by historians as of BME heritage until now. Yorke was well known to historians of British radicalism in the 1790s as an English revolutionary radical from Derby. I discovered that, in fact, he was a West Indian creole of African/British descent whose mother, Sarah Bullock, was a slave from Barbuda and whose father, Samuel Redhead, was an Antiguan plantation owner and agent for the Codrington family's plantations in Antigua and manager of Barbuda.¹⁰

Redhead, a somewhat disreputable character, had worked his way up from humble beginnings – his father was a carpenter. But Redhead married into one of the elite Antiguan families and, by 1764, he managed to buy the Frye plantation in Antigua for the hefty sum of £20,000.¹¹ The indenture stated that Frye

consisted of 420 acres and all the 'negro and mulatto slaves' that lived on it: '55 men, 12 boys, 71 women, 11 girls and 28 children boys and girls ... and also 2 bulls, 35 oxen, 30 cows, 12 cow calves, 18 bull calves, 3 steers, a fatling, and 4 horses'. A letter from Redhead to Sir William Codrington in 1771 asked for the manumission of Sarah Bullock and offered to pay her value as a slave of £90.¹² Codrington agreed to this arrangement. Obtaining freedom was difficult for slaves and having the child of a man who could afford to buy their freedom was one possible route to manumission. It was a risky one, however, for it was more likely that the father would deny his paternity or disown the slave and her child. Moreover, manumission did not necessarily bestow automatic and immediate freedom in the West Indies. According to the contemporary writer Bryan Edwards, manumission did not mean a complete or immediate status change to a free citizen with all the rights that might endow. For, 'The courts of law interpreted the act of manumission by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment or release of his own proper authority over the person of the slave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty the civil and political rights of a natural-born subject; and the same principle was applied to the issue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the Negro ancestor'.¹³ According to this interpretation, neither Bullock nor her children would, strictly speaking, have been deemed 'free' in the West Indies.

Historians had also previously assumed that Yorke was white, but the evidence indicates that he was a person of colour.¹⁴ Georgians described him in common contemporary terms as, for example, a 'mulatto' a 'half-caste', having 'negro blood' and 'In complexion ... not more than two shades from an African'. One acquaintance, James Montgomery, a printer from Sheffield, described Yorke's hair as 'defying' the fashion of the day 'by its luxuriant curl – a tendency derived from the sunnier side of his ancestral tree'.¹⁵ In this period in Britain, scientific interpretations of race were developing but were not yet fully framed. Some thinkers and writers expressed racial prejudice against colonial identities, but attitudes on the ground to BME individuals were rather less well formulated. Conflicting ideas about racial difference coexisted, with many still believing that skin colour was due to climate. Overall, attitudes to black and mixed ethnicity were complex, inconsistent and circumstantial.¹⁶ That does not mean, however, that racial prejudice was not experienced by BME people in everyday life.

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Slaves cutting the sugar cane, Antigua (from William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*, 1823) (British Library / Creative Commons)

Yorke was born on Barbuda, a small island about thirty miles north of Antigua. It was leased by the Crown to the Codrington family for ‘one fat sheep if demanded’ and Redhead was the manager of the island at the time of Yorke’s birth. The Codringtons were mostly absentee plantation owners, preferring to live on their estate in Gloucestershire, rather than in the West Indies, and to leave their plantations to the management of local agents such as Redhead. Barbuda was not suitable for sugar cane, and the main agriculture involved rearing livestock and growing crops. This was not easy, however, as frequent droughts and hurricanes interfered with agriculture and often left both slaves and livestock hungry and without shelter. The governor of the Leeward Isles described Barbuda in 1777 as ‘almost in a state of nature’, there being so little cultivation. Dennis Reynolds, a manager in the 1780s, described it as ‘a miserable poor place’.¹⁷ A major source of income was wreck salvaging. Many ships were purportedly wrecked on the reefs around Barbuda. It was populated by slaves and the only white inhabitants were Redhead, on a part-time basis, and, when one could be found, a full-time manager. Unusually, the slaves lived in families, which were long-standing on the island, and thus had a sense of community and kinship. Redhead built a house on Barbuda in 1771 where Bullock lived and raised their illegitimate children, including Yorke, his brother Joseph and sister Sarah Ann. Redhead visited Barbuda regularly but retained his own plantation, and continued to act as agent for the Codringtons, in Antigua. He also kept another illegitimate family with an enslaved woman at the Betty’s Hope plantation in Antigua. There

is no evidence that Yorke visited Antigua as a small child. There was no school or chapel on Barbuda (until the nineteenth century), so it is unlikely that Yorke was baptised or received any formal education. Thus, it appears that Yorke was initially raised primarily by his mother in a slave society. There is no record that his parents ever married.

Yorke was taken to England in 1778 as a small boy to be educated as a gentleman. Presumably Redhead and Bullock had decided that with education, their son could ‘pass’ as an English gentleman. They were not alone in such an assumption, as the writer Edward Long confirmed:

the many Mulatto, Quateron and other illegitimate children sent over to England for education ... are often sent to the most expensive public schools, where the history of their birth and parentage is entirely unknown; they pass under the general name of West-Indians; and the bronze of their complexion is ignorantly ascribed to the fervour of the sun in the torrid zone.¹⁸

Illegitimacy was, however, often assumed from the skin colour of such West Indian children. Illegitimate children in England had no legal status. Under English common law, a child born outside marriage was ‘nobody’s child’ and had no legal next of kin or hereditary position within the family. Power and property adhered to the male head of the family and power was contingent upon legitimate association with that family, thus illegitimacy led to powerlessness.¹⁹ Such children were entirely reliant on their father’s good will to provide them with any status or wealth.

For Yorke, the move to England at such a young age represented a reinvention, a new identity. School life would have come as something of a shock to him; he probably spoke little English and had a strong accent. One of the aims of an English education was to lose all trace of what was termed the ‘Negro dialect’.²⁰ Education in England was known to be a considerable expense for planter families. Redhead must have been willing, or persuaded by Bullock, to expend large sums on educating his illegitimate sons. Notably, he already had five legitimate children with his wife, who had died some years earlier, but he had educated none of them in England. One reason for this was that Redhead did not gain his own plantation and become personally wealthy until the 1760s, when his first family had grown up. He moved to England with Bullock and their illegitimate children in about 1779 and lived in London until his death in 1785, by which time the family patrimony had started to decline. Redhead subverted the law on illegitimacy by leaving his illegitimate children bequests in his will. He left Yorke a financial legacy and some property in St John’s, Antigua, thus giving him a private income from the legacies of slave ownership.

Yorke followed the orthodox educational route for a gentleman and a role in formal politics or the law, studying at Cambridge University and then training for the Bar at Inner Temple. He joined the Whig Club in 1790. As a young man he lived in London and Derby and associated with wealthy Derby industrialist reform Whigs. The movement for the abolition of slavery instigated in 1787 was well under way and Yorke wrote a pro-slavery pamphlet, published in early 1792, encouraged by a local gentry Tory. Thus, Yorke had been well educated out of his early West Indian slave identity; but it seems he could never quite discard it. He had developed a hybrid identity which, I argue, influenced his life and politics. Notably, Yorke promoted many identities and personas in his life and writings, but rarely the original West Indian one. In 1792 he attempted to change his name from Redhead to Yorke but never explained why. Thereafter, uncertainty as to his name added to an unstable identity: he was referred to as Redhead, Redhead Yorke or just Yorke. Nor did he follow a political career that reflected consistent allegiance to English conventions or political parties. He frequently changed his political position, which suggests a constant search for political ‘belonging’. Politics was always at the centre of his life, however, and an important aspect of his adult identity.

In Paris, Yorke readily adopted a new identity as a ‘citizen of the world’, becoming one of the revolutionary cosmopolitans who flocked to the city at the time. Their intellectual focus and aims were international, embracing all humanity and promoting universal rights and freedom.

During the 1790s the French Revolution significantly influenced British politics, with many reformers and radicals emerging on to the political scene. Societies were formed to promote parliamentary reform, such as the London Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information and local societies around the country in, for example, Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield, Norwich and Nottingham. Initially, such societies expressed their support for the revolution by sending addresses to the French National Convention in 1792. Extra-parliamentary divisions emerged between reformers (together with the more extreme radicals) and those who expressed loyalty to the political status quo, ‘Church and king’. In 1792 Yorke began to promote radical politics in the Derby reform society and he drafted the Derby address to the French National Convention: an uncompromising document enhanced by fiery revolutionary rhetoric. Late in the same year he visited Paris, where he completed this political volte-face and changed his politics from Whig to revolutionary radical and from a pro-slavery to an anti-slavery position. He claimed that it was in Paris that he fell ‘madly in love’ with ‘ideal liberty’. This dramatic shift could be put down to youthful enthusiasm and desire for the excitement of revolution, but in the case of Yorke his political shift was more complex. Certainly, one could argue that he was fully radicalised in Paris. He engaged with the exciting atmosphere of the revolution, attending the Convention and the trial of Louis XVI. He associated with French revolutionaries and other foreign radicals such as Thomas Paine and Joel Barlow at the ‘British Club’ (a group of British radicals who met at White’s Hotel in Paris). Yorke wrote his first radical pamphlet in Paris – *Reason urged against Precedent; A Letter to the People of Derby* – which was published on his return to England in 1793. This was a strongly radical and revolutionary pamphlet in which he promoted French humanitarian and universal ideology and reversed his previous position on slavery.

In Paris, Yorke readily adopted a new identity as a ‘citizen of the world’, becoming one of the revolutionary cosmopolitans who flocked to the city at the time. Their intellectual focus and aims were international, embracing all humanity and promoting universal rights and freedom. In this respect cosmopolitanism was in direct conflict with the nationalistic politics growing in the monarchies of Europe, including Britain, at the time.²¹ But then that was the point, in part at least, for men such as Yorke. By adopting a ‘citizen of the world’ persona they

could avoid or evade the emerging national identity in their home country.²² They could find a role on the political stage but speak from no place or social position, imagining a ‘global citizenship’.²³ Yorke’s radicalisation, change of name and adoption of a citizen-of-the-world persona were all a way of evading both his West Indian identity and an English national identity, and of re-situating himself, both politically and geographically. Moreover, the revolution offered the possibility of a new democratic world for all. In 1792 the National Convention was dubbed ‘a congress of the whole world’, and on 26 August the Legislative Assembly awarded French citizenship to eighteen foreign citizens of the world, with full political rights, as a gesture of the revolution’s cosmopolitan goals.²⁴ Yorke was welcomed in Paris along with other foreigners; he could ‘belong’ in the revolutionary mix, something that was more difficult in English politics. Yorke even planned to move his mother and siblings to live in Paris at this time. Unfortunately, this did not happen, as he was forced to flee France in 1793. A warrant for his arrest was issued by the Jacobins, in power since May, who had become suspicious of English radicals; war between Britain and France had been declared in February 1793.

Once back in England in 1793 Yorke became a radical activist preaching revolutionary ideas in dangerously inflammatory rhetoric on the outdoor platform to ordinary people around Britain. He frequently travelled between London, Derby, Sheffield and Manchester and stated that he generally journeyed on foot. He also published several lengthy radical pamphlets which placed him in the public political sphere. In his speeches and writings, Yorke continued to promote French revolutionary ideology and a citizen-of-the-world persona. He promoted universal rights for all mankind, including ‘the African and the Asian’, and a world of revolutions. Consequently, he ran against the grain of current English radicalism, which had largely turned away from the French Revolution and was increasingly promoting reform in terms of an Anglo-focused constitutionalism and parliamentary reform that functioned within the law and within national boundaries. The major aims publicly expressed by reform societies were to remove corruption, reform parliamentary representation and introduce universal male suffrage. Petitioning parliament or the king remained the main method they utilised for seeking reform. While Yorke did sometimes advocate constitutional reform for Britain he promoted, most strongly, a new post-revolutionary world of liberty and

equal rights, without empires, ‘kings, priests or nobles’, or any of the social and political hierarchies of ancien-regime Britain. Ultimately, he wanted a world made anew, where men such as him could attain positions of power in the state. This vision incorporated a desire for agency, for self-determination without identity issues of race, class and illegitimacy getting in the way.²⁵ He functioned in this individualistic way largely because he was an ‘outsider’, because he did not fit within the national and customary political restraints generally observed even by English reformers. His focus was international, crossing and ignoring boundaries geographical and political. He imagined himself as ubiquitous – a true transatlantic ‘citizen of the world’, but like many fellow radicals he failed to turn his ideology into a framework for a new form of government.

Nevertheless, through his radical activities, writings and speeches to a popular audience around the country, Yorke was a dominant presence in 1790s English radicalism – another factor underestimated by historians. One reason for his dominance was the unconventional approach he took to radicalism in England. As a writer and activist, he was instrumental in pushing the English radical societies, particularly in Sheffield, in a more revolutionary direction, ignoring their established rules and methods. He promoted the arming of Sheffield radicals and the sale of arms made by Sheffield cutlers to other societies; he also advocated the creation of a convention (reflecting the French Assembly) to replace parliament. Yorke thrust himself into the forefront of radical action. As an orator, he zealously preached dangerous radical ideas from the outdoor platform. In his popularity and oratorical skills (although not generally in his revolutionary extremism), Yorke could be compared to significant public speakers such as John Thelwall, John Wilkes, Henry Hunt and Feargus O’Connor. He gained a large plebeian following, particularly in Sheffield, and became something of a radical gentleman hero.

Between 1793 and 1794 Yorke also travelled to Europe and engaged with clandestine revolutionary activity in the Low Countries and France. He did this alone: English radicals were not at this time generally involved in European radicalism. It appears that he fought in the French revolutionary army for a short time in late 1793. He put himself in danger probably more than any other English radical activist of the time. After leading a radical outdoor meeting in Sheffield in April 1794 – allegedly attended by at least 12,000 people – Yorke was

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arrested and charged with high treason. I argue that the combination of Yorke's writings and actions suggest that he was the most revolutionary radical in Britain during 1793–94. It is true that Paine's *Rights of Man* (1790–91) was much the most influential radical text of its day, and that others such as John Thelwall, leader of the London Corresponding Society, wrote similarly coherent works on governmental and economic reforms. Yet, unlike Paine, who left England in 1792 never to return, Yorke remained an active radical in England until his arrest in 1794. He was also more internationalist in his writings and activities than most English radicals, including Thelwall. Certainly, Yorke was identified by the government as a treacherous revolutionary and leader of the treasonable conspiracy to overthrow the government it identified prior to the Treason Trials of radicals in 1794.²⁶ Yorke was held in prison from his arrest until his trial in July 1795. He was convicted of seditious conspiracy and imprisoned in Dorchester Gaol for two years.

During the French Revolution the British government had formed a significant secret service led by master spy William Wickham. Spies infiltrated the reform societies and reported on radical activity. Yorke was hounded mercilessly by the government from 1792 to his arrest, and he remained under surveillance until his death in 1813. While this was mainly due to his connections with revolutionary Europe, it is also likely that his West Indian background played a part in this singular government interest. At that time, unrest was common in West Indian colonies and the French colony of Saint-Domingue had erupted in rebellion (a rebellion which became a revolution, resulting in the formation of the Republic of Haiti in 1804). There was much interplay between radicals and revolutionaries across the Atlantic.²⁷ The British government was fearful of West Indian revolutionary ideology spreading to Britain and vice versa, and that the Saint-Domingue uprising might trigger uprisings in its own West Indian colonies. The government was afraid that BME men originally from the West Indies but living in Britain would become radicalised and incite revolution in Britain.²⁸ To the government, Yorke was the personification of that fear.

On his release from prison in 1798, Yorke expeditiously changed his politics again, becoming a loyalist patriot and conservative journalist and writer. He published a great deal, including political pamphlets, journalism, historical and economic works, a progressive text on education, and a fascinating travelogue of a visit to France in 1802. Yorke's reversion to

loyalism was not an abrupt change of allegiance, as historians have suggested.²⁹ Rather, it represents a shifting of his position over time after his release from prison from something of the moderate Whig liberal reformer in his political writings of 1797–99 to staunch Tory in his later journalism. Yorke was inconsistent in his political position and it is hard to judge during this period where his political allegiances lay.

Recanting here, by Yorke and by others who turned away from radicalism, such as Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey, should perhaps be reconsidered as a process rather than a volte-face. Yorke's writings reveal a moderate reform ideology that might be associated with emerging liberalism. He still focused partially on Europe but had now abandoned his desire for a 'world of revolutions'. War with France and the threat of an invasion led by Bonaparte certainly made a citizen-of-the-world persona coupled with a universalist ideology both dangerous and unworkable in Britain. Yorke's writings reflected something of the 'liberal spirit of thinking' and patriotic rhetoric to be found in publications such as Leigh Hunt's *Examiner*.³⁰ They also presented ideas similar to those of anti-war liberals in support of defensive war against France on the basis of 'love of country' and 'moral patriotism'. Yorke also promoted ideas similar to anti-war liberals in the form of an essentially anti-aristocratic focus that fostered a progressive society in which authority was based on representation and a theory that the general good would prevail.³¹

Yorke was now putting himself at the forefront of debates about the new post-revolutionary age, ploughing his own furrow. Yet his journalism was, for the most part, rather different; strongly patriotic, anti-Bonapartist and anti-French, scattered with vitriolic, xenophobic rhetoric reminiscent of his earlier extreme radical zeal. While it was much admired by some, he was frequently vilified for the viciousness of his journalism and accused of being a Treasury hireling and a government spy. It appears that he may well have been paid by the Treasury for some of his journalism, in which case he would have been influenced in terms of the content.

In 1807, on Francis Fane's retirement an election was called in Dorchester and there was talk of Yorke standing, but nothing came of this and Yorke never became an MP. He was again involved in extra-parliamentary politics, attending meetings of the Middlesex Freeholders and engaging with the elections of 1806 and 1807 from the sidelines. He clashed with members of the political elite, narrowly

avoiding a duel with Sir Francis Burdett in 1806 and engaging in a bitter political dispute with William Cobbett. The latter published a vicious racial slur against Yorke, claiming that he ‘boasts that “*royal* blood runs in his veins”, he being as he is said to assert, a descendant on the female side, in a direct line from the Prince Lee Boo, one of the most ancient and venerable of the sable sovereigns of Africa’.³² This was a complete invention. Cobbett criticised Yorke, both in terms of class and race, as a dual-heritage upstart, for his effrontery in challenging a minor nobleman such as Burdett to a duel.

Socially Yorke did well, despite his spell in prison, although he never became rich. He gained a reputation as an eloquent and scholarly writer and retained his gentlemanly status despite his turbulent political life. He married the daughter of the wealthy keeper of Dorchester Gaol, Jane Williams Andrews. She had inherited a considerable legacy from her grandmother and her father also left her well provided for on his death. The Yorke had four children, but both the daughters died in childhood. Yorke died in 1813 and ‘left his family as little fortune as usually befalls the man of letters’, but his sons were educated as gentlemen, at public schools and at Cambridge University.³³

It is notable that Yorke has been known to historians as a radical revolutionary and for changing his political positions. Such frequent recanting has been taken as a sign of incoherence and insincerity, with some attributing his political change after being released from prison to his infatuation with Miss Andrews.³⁴ The evidence does not support such a conclusion. The shifting nature of Yorke’s politics could be put down in part to a lack of commitment to established political communities and ideas within England or of allegiance to its history and its ancient constitution, commonly revered at the time. This did not mean that Yorke lacked intellectual commitment, more that he did not fully identify with a conventional ‘Englishness’ in politics. His ‘outsider’ status enabled fluidity and flexibility in his politics that was further facilitated by the diverse and sometimes shared discourses within the French revolutionary context. Yorke developed his interpretations of political ideas and appropriate action within the polemical debates of the moment circulating around Europe and the Atlantic world.

Another step to understanding Yorke’s changeable political allegiances requires a return to the issue of identity. Yorke sought a place in politics, but he never quite found a comfortable one, partly due to his

multi-layered and inherently unstable identity. His political career represents a constant search for ‘belonging’ in the English, and French, political worlds. It is not surprising that he was swiftly radicalised in Paris – attracted to the revolutionary alternatives that might make a new world in which a citizen of the world such as himself could hold a position of political power. His peripatetic lifestyle and frequent travel across borders in the Atlantic world also enabled multiple identities and allegiances rather than adherence to one national identity.

It is also likely that, as a man of colour, Yorke encountered a certain amount of racial prejudice that prevented him from fully engaging in formal politics. The fact that there is little direct evidence of this, apart from the debacle with Cobbett, does not mean that it did not exist. One thing is certain: Yorke retained his focus on politics throughout his life – for him politics and identity were inextricably linked. He was remembered as a ‘well-known political writer’. I suggest that Yorke’s case study presents new frameworks within which to explore political engagement in Britain, focused on ethnicities and identities within a global perspective.

It is probably no coincidence that his eldest son, Henry Galgacus Redhead Yorke (hereafter HGR Yorke) went into politics. HGR Yorke also completed the appropriate education, attending Eton College and Charterhouse, and then Christ’s College, Cambridge (1825–28). Unlike his father, HGR Yorke was English and presumably white in skin colour.³⁵ He took a post as tutor to the ward of Sir Robert Heron, of Stubton Hall in Lincolnshire, a role which won him Heron’s ‘esteem and gratitude’. Yorke retained this social connection, and links with Lincolnshire, and it was Heron who assisted him in finding a candidacy when Yorke expressed a desire to enter politics. Heron introduced Yorke to the Earl of Zetland who was seeking recommendations for a replacement for his brother, John Dundas, who was retiring as MP for York.³⁶ HGR Yorke stood as a liberal reform candidate and was elected as Whig MP for the city of York in 1841 and re-elected in 1847. Thus, he found his way into parliament through the conventional route of connections, something his father would have struggled to accomplish.

HGR Yorke also married well, in 1837, to the wealthy Hon. Cecilia Elizabeth Crosbie, the only surviving child of William Crosbie, 4th Baron Brandon (an Irish title), and Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel David Latouche and Cecilia Leeson, who was daughter of the first Earl of Milltown. Lady Elizabeth Brandon,

Another step to understanding Yorke’s changeable political allegiances requires a return to the issue of identity. Yorke sought a place in politics, but he never quite found a comfortable one, partly due to his multi-layered and inherently unstable identity. His political career represents a constant search for ‘belonging’ in the English, and French, political worlds.

renowned as a great beauty, had had a scandalous affair with William Lamb (later Prime Minister Lord Melbourne) which ended in court after Lord Brandon found their love letters.

The Yorke had three children: two boys and a girl. One of the boys died at one year of age but the other children, Louisa and Henry Francis, lived into adulthood. The family lived in Eaton Square and at Fulbeck Hall near Grantham, in Lincolnshire. HGR Yorke was a member of gentlemen's clubs in London, including the Reform Club, Brooks's and the Oxford and Cambridge Club, and lived the life of a gentleman MP, attending the sort of social and sporting events, in York and London as required. He was reportedly – an 'influential member for the city' – a 'distinguished patron' of a York Grand Regatta on the Ouse.³⁷ He was on the management committee for a Grand National Archery meeting held in York in 1844.³⁸ He and his wife could be found at a Grand Full Dress Ball at the York Assembly Rooms 'in commemoration of the glorious success of her Majesty's arms in the East' attended by 'more than three hundred persons of rank' and at a concert hosted by the Lady Mayoress of York, 'one of the most fashionable events of season'.³⁹ The 'Hon. Mrs. and Mr. Redhead Yorke' were also reported as attending the Yorkshire Ball in London in June 1846 – a ball 'which from the distinguished support that it receives' is now 'established as one of the many attractions of the London season'.⁴⁰ HGR Yorke, then, attained a position among the English political and social elite without question as to his ethnicity or background.

His political career appears to have got off to a good start. On his election in 1841, the *York Herald* reported that he was received 'with the most enthusiastic cheers' before giving his first speech in the constituency, which was 'eloquent' and won approval for his commitment to reform and to the poor. He promoted free trade and declared that he was 'an implacable friend of the people' and that the government should 'consult the necessities of the poor and the honourable industrious, rather than coquet to the superfluities of the rich.' He stated that they 'were almost the first ministry that had plainly avowed the principles of reform and made war against the heartlessness, the recklessness, the ruthlessness and the extravagance of the old Tory system.' HGR Yorke's proposer promoted him as 'a man of unblemished honour, of independent fortune ... with all his faculties about him'.⁴¹

HGR Yorke expressed himself a reformer in the Commons and promoted parliamentary

reform in terms of shorter parliaments, an increased franchise and vote by ballot, plus measures to control bribery and corruption. On his election he echoed his father in asserting his political independence, as 'an independent man' and 'not a hanger on to ... any ministry', although in Yorke's case this was with reference to his position within extra-parliamentary politics.⁴² Later, HGR Yorke was reported as declaring, 'I am a moderate Reformer, when moderation is sufficient, a decided Reformer when decision is better; a radical Reformer, where radicalism is best; but, above all things, an uncompromising friend of the people'.⁴³ At the 1847 election, the *York Herald* declared that 'Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq., our present liberal and worthy member and J. G. Smyth Esq., of Heath Hall, will be the candidates for the City of York; and it is more than probable that they will be elected without any opposition'.⁴⁴ He was also reported on his election in York to have 'expressed himself determined to continue his adherence to the liberal policy of the Whig Ministry'.⁴⁵

HGR Yorke was an active and diligent MP in the House of Commons, presenting petitions, joining select committees, active in the committee rooms and engaging in a diverse range of issues.⁴⁶ *Hansard* reports his engagement in many debates. Not forgetting his constituency, in July 1845 he requested the liberation of a constituent, a Joseph Mason, who had been wrongly convicted for a burglary in York and transported to Norfolk Island.⁴⁷ He made a lengthy speech on the Poor Law Commission in September 1841, in which he argued against the separation of man and wife when entering the workhouse. He argued that the country was in 'a state of great distress' and many were going hungry, and the deserving poor should not suffer such a disgraceful penalty. Indeed, under the Slave Emancipation Act, the 'social ties of the negro' were better protected than those of the deserving poor in Britain. Under the act, 'under no circumstances, should a negro in our colonies ever be removed from one plantation to another, if such removal subjected him to separation from his wife or children, or even his reputed wife'. Thus, as the law stood, an Englishman 'was put to the degradation of seeing his own wife in a worse condition than the reputed wife of the black'.⁴⁸

He was not, however, always given an easy ride in the press. On his election in June 1841, *The Times* reported, somewhat disparagingly, that 'Mr. H. R. Yorke, stands as a Whig-radical and thick and thin supporter of the government ... He is a son of Mr. Redhead Yorke, a

It is probably no coincidence that his eldest son, Henry Galgacus Redhead Yorke went into politics ... Unlike his father, HGR Yorke was English and presumably white in skin colour.

political writer of some note 30 years ago, who at about that period was committed on a charge of high treason to York Castle, and on a subsequent charge of sedition was sentenced to and underwent 18 months' imprisonment in that gaol.' It noted that, although formerly a tutor, since marrying a lady of considerable wealth', HGR Yorke 'now seeks to serve parliamentary honours by a lavish expenditure of some of that wealth among the poorer classes of the electors of the ancient city'.⁴⁹ In 1845 a satirical publication also suggested dubious social climbing, stating 'Redhead Yorke, the M.P. for York, was, we believe, some fifteen years since an usher at a suburban school ... [h]e married a woman with some forty thousand pounds, and so Redhead went ahead for the incorruptible borough of York.'⁵⁰

He was also attacked in the high-Tory periodical *John Bull* as a 'do-nothing' who 'at the fag-end of a session, when on the eve of meeting their dear constituents ... set about, at least the appearance of doing something, just to remind the world ... that they are in existence – and their constituents that they are really very useful, by getting their name advertised as having "made a motion" in the House'. 'Mr. HENRY GALGACUS REDHEAD YORKE' provided a 'brilliant example of this' when to gratify his vanity and at such an 'advanced period of the session' he needed to 'be doing something, as a small beginning' and so raised notice of a question about Joe Mason in the House when the matter could have been settled by anyone sending a 'penny letter ... to the convict department of the Home Office.' The article continued to imply impropriety between HGR Yorke and Mrs. Joe Mason.⁵¹ Another piece in the same journal ridiculed a motion in the Commons requesting laborious details as to the divisions in the 1845 session of the Commons. It declared, 'To have made these returns complete, the Hon. Member should have included ... "an estimate of the number of times Mr. HENRY GALGACUS REDHEAD YORKE, during any one evening, enters, leaves, and re-enters the House, scours along one gallery, descends and ascends the opposite, brushes across the lobby, and traverses the corridors, armed with a huge horse-whip and a bundle of well-fumbled papers".'⁵² Some rather crude, satirical reports suggested an addiction to Morison's Pills, a notorious quack stomach medicine of the day. One snippet in *The Age*, in 1840, noted that, when HGR Yorke was canvassing for York, 'we were personally introduced ... to an eccentric of that name ... at a dinner party' where he was 'swallowing

Morison's Pills by handfull' Another in the same journal as a 'Rumour of the Day' from the Reform Club implied that Yorke was conversationally dull and not very bright.⁵³ Of course such harsh satirical representations of MPs by the opposition press are not uncommon, but the criticisms of HGR Yorke imply that he was not quite the gentleman he presented himself to be. He had a criminally convicted father, had no personal wealth, and had launched his political career on the back of his wife's social position and fortune. Such criticisms were, however, based on class rather than race, and it appears that his true ethnicity was unknown to his contemporaries.

His parliamentary career ended in tragedy when he committed suicide on Friday, 12 May 1848, very publicly in Regent's Park by taking prussic acid. His body was taken to the St Pancras Workhouse and an inquest was held. The coroner, who knew HGR Yorke personally, declared at the inquest that, on the day of the suicide, 'the whole of the unfortunate gentleman's manners led to a strong belief that he was not in his right mind.' The jury returned a verdict of insanity. The case was widely reported in the press. *The Times* noted that, as he lay in St Pancras Workhouse, 'His countenance is scarcely at all changed, retaining the firm and somewhat peculiar expression which it exhibited in life.' And Yorke had 'attended the House of Commons on Thursday night, and conversed very freely with his friend and neighbour, Mr. Bernal, chairman of committees. He was also at the Reform Club the same evening and in other circles at the West-end ... without anything particular being observed in his manner.' But it continued, 'the deceased, who has always been considered of a somewhat eccentric turn of mind, was about 50 years of age', while his wife was 'very much younger than himself' and was 'at present staying in Lancashire'.⁵⁴ The *York Herald*, however, remembered him as 'ever true to his political principles' with 'an independence of mind which would never bend to expediency or even to courtly favour'.⁵⁵

The reason for the suicide is not clear; apart from a regularly recorded eccentricity there is no indication from his active engagement in the House of Commons that he was suffering from mental illness. It is likely at the time that this was something he would have kept hidden. Future research may reveal mental health issues, personal, or financial reasons for him taking his own life.

Cecilia Redhead Yorke lived to the age of 85 and on her death in 1903 left £5,694 10s 1d. (worth about £700,000 today) to their son

The criticisms of HGR Yorke imply that he was not quite the gentleman he presented himself to be. He had a criminally convicted father, had no personal wealth, and had launched his political career on the back of his wife's social position and fortune. Such criticisms were, however, based on class rather than race, and it appears that his true ethnicity was unknown to his contemporaries.

Sir Henry Francis Redhead Yorke (1842–1914) KCB (1902) COB (1897). In July 1882, he carried on the family habit of marrying well – to Lady Lilian Harriet, daughter of the 10th Earl of Wemyss and widow of Sir Henry Carstairs Pelly, 3rd Bt, who had died in 1877.

Ultimately, Yorke (the elder) had secured an extensive family in Britain and the names were carried down the ensuing generations, particularly Redhead, which suggests an enduring sense of ancestry and a link to the West Indies, albeit not one the Yorkes tended to highlight. The extended family members continued to gain access to the elite institutions that had enabled the upward mobility that Yorke had experienced in his youth. From Yorke himself, down the family line, they consistently married well, increasingly into the English elite, and reflected the ‘biological whitening’ commonly desired by BME West Indians.⁵⁶ Yorke provides an example of the gentrification accessible to BME children of wealthy West Indian planters in the Georgian period. Such gradual gentrification was enabled, in part, by slave-owning wealth that carried through from Yorke’s inheritance from his father to his descendants. Indeed the profits of slave ownership sustained in part generations of the Redhead family from the 1760s onwards, in Europe as well as Antigua. Samuel Redhead had been of low birth but had built his fortunes based on slavery into considerable wealth at its peak, when he owned a plantation and approximately 260 slaves. Despite the declining value of the original plantation, the Legacies of British Slave Ownership project has emphasised that a family with 100 to 200 slaves could sustain generations in Britain on the profits from the plantation.⁵⁷

Yet despite his life-long dedication to politics, Yorke did not reach the political heights he desired in Britain and although he was widely accepted as a gentleman, that did not automatically confer an English identity. By his death, Yorke had established himself as a respected writer in English society but with a somewhat mixed political life, including a spell in prison. How

far his dual heritage and skin colour affected his chances of elevation in society and politics is hard to determine, but Yorke’s multi-layered identity together with his radicalisation and shifting political allegiance suggest an insecure sense of self and an ‘outsider’ status.

By exploring one BME Georgian, it has also been possible to shed new light on the somewhat different life of another, his son, who became a Victorian MP. HGR Yorke, as first-generation English, became well integrated into elite social circles in London and York and, unlike his father, could enter the House of Commons as an MP. It has been assumed that HGR Yorke was English and ‘white’; certainly his mixed heritage has not been recorded until now. But he is an important addition to the small number of BME MPs so far discovered from the first half of the nineteenth century. Both Yorkes were well hidden due to lack of archival evidence and assumptions about their ethnicity. These are only two case studies, but they illustrate how such micro-history can challenge or enhance the macro picture.⁵⁸ They reflect a notable diaspora from British colonies to Britain in the Georgian period that is rarely highlighted. The question arises: how many more MPs and political activists from the past, not previously identified as such, were of black, Asian or mixed ethnicity? It is important that historians explore this question to ensure that we represent British history accurately, incorporating all those who have played a part in our politics with equal attention. As the Royal Historical Society has recently argued, changing our approach to BME histories ‘is imperative to enhance public understandings of the past in Britain’ and ‘to reflect the full diversity of human histories’.⁵⁹

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- 1 See Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660–1807* (Manchester University Press, 2009); Daniel Livesay, *Children of Uncertain Fortune* (Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2018); also Eve Tavor Barnett, *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720–1810: Migrant Fictions* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- 2 BME as used here includes all people of colour or white of mixed ethnicity. It is recognised that such terms are problematic as they set up a racialised ‘black’ against a normative ‘white’, but here they are used entirely for identity purposes without an intentional racial construct. Further, I use the term ‘race’ or ‘mixed race’ fully aware that they are social constructs with no validity biologically.
- 3 Chater, *Untold Histories*.
- 4 See Michael Bundock, *The Fortunes of Francis Barber* (Yale University Press, 2015).
- 5 Amanda Goodrich, *Henry Redhead Yorke, Colonial Radical: Politics and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1772–1813* (Routledge, 2019).
- 6 Livesay estimates that there were probably thousands of such mixed race West Indians who travelled Britain in the Georgian period. Livesay, *Children*, p. 4.
- 7 Livesay, *Children*, p. 401.
- 8 Under the Act of Settlement 1701, those born within ‘the dominions’ of the ‘kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland’ had the same political rights as those born within such kingdoms. Antigua as a British colony was such a dominion.
- 9 See Michael H. Fisher, *The Inordinately Strange Life of Dyce Sombre: Victorian Anglo-Indian MP and ‘Chancery Lunatic’* (Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 10 The Codrington family was a long-standing plantation owning family in the West Indies and one of the wealthiest by the eighteenth century.
- 11 £20,000 at today’s value would be approximately £3,675,000.
- 12 Samuel Redhead to Codrington, 30 July 1771, *Codrington Correspondence 1743–1851* (microform) 1960, Film 24995 Reel 1, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries.
- 13 Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West*

- Indies*, 3 vols. (London, 1801), quoted in Moira Ferguson, *The Hart Sisters: Early African Caribbean Writers, Evangelicals and Radicals* (University of Nebraska Press, 1993) p. 3.
- 14 In his seminal text on English radicalism in the 1790s, Albert Goodwin referred to Yorke as a 'mulatto demagogue'. But he did not expand on Yorke's ethnicity, nor did he provide a reference. Ethnicity was not a category of analysis in Goodwin's study or in others of the time, which retained a primarily national focus. Albert Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty* (Hutchinson & Co., 1979) p. 253.
- 15 J. Holland and J. Everett (eds.), *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery*, 7 vols. (London, 1854), vol. 1, pp. 165–6, 171.
- 16 See for example Chater, *Untold Histories*; Isaac Land, 'Bread and Arsenic: Citizenship from the Bottom Up in Georgian England', *Journal of Social History* (Fall, 2005), pp. 89–110.
- 17 Margaret Tweedy, 'A History of Barbuda under the Codringtons, 1738–1833', PhD diss. (University of Birmingham, 1981) pp. 131, 77–8.
- 18 Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, vol. 2 (London, 1774), p. 274, quoted in Deirdre Coleman, 'Janet Schaw and the Complexions of Empire', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2003), p. 171.
- 19 V. Spike Peterson, 'The Politics of Identification in the Context of Globalisation', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19:1 (1996).
- 20 Daniel Livesay, *Children*, p. 213.
- 21 Michael Scrivener, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in the Age of Revolution and Reaction, 1776–1832* (Pickering & Chatto, 2007), p. 3.
- 22 Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT, 2004).
- 23 Sophia Rosenfield, 'Citizens of Nowhere in Particular: Cosmopolitanism, Writing, and Political Engagement in Eighteenth-Century Europe', *National Identities* 4:1 (2002), pp. 27, 39. See also Scrivener, *Cosmopolitan Ideal*, p. 24.
- 24 Goodrich, *Henry Redhead Yorke*, p. 89.
- 25 Simon Gikandi, 'Race and Cosmopolitanism', *American Literary History*, 14 (Autumn, 2002), pp. 593–615, at p. 596.
- 26 For the Treason Trials see for example, John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796* (Oxford University Press, 2000); Michael Lobban, 'Treason, Sedition and the Radical Movement in the Age of the French Revolution', *Liverpool Law Review*, 22 (2000), pp. 205–234; Alan Wharam, *The Treason Trials, 1794* (Leicester University Press, 1992).
- 27 See, for example, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Beacon Press, 2000).
- 28 Livesay, *Children*, pp. 238–40.
- 29 See, for example, James J. Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832* (Cambridge University Press, 1993) p. 67; Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (Yale University Press, 2004) pp. 10, 29; Edward Fearn, 'Henry Redhead Yorke: Radical Traitor', *Yorkshire Archeological Journal*, 42 (1967), pp. 187–92.
- 30 Harling, P., 'Leigh Hunt's Examiner and the Language of Patriotism', *English Historical Review*, 111:444 (Nov. 1996), pp. 1159–1181.
- 31 J. E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England 1793–1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 27–8, 163–185.
- 32 *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 27 Dec. 1806, vol. 10, 717 no. 26, pp. 997–9.
- 33 'H.G.R. Yorke, Esq. M.P.' [obituary], *Gentleman's Magazine: and historical review*, 12 May 1848.
- 34 Mark Philp, 'Disconcerting Ideas: Explaining popular radicalism and popular loyalism in the 1790s' in Mark Philp (ed.), *Reforming Ideas in Britain: Politics and Language in the Shadow of the French Revolution, 1789–1815* (Cambridge University Press, 2014) pp. 71–101, at p. 76; See also Fearn, 'Redhead Yorke', p. 190.
- 35 I have uncovered no contemporary references to his skin colour or his BME origins.
- 36 R. Heron, *Notes by Sir Robert Heron, Baronet* (2nd edn., London, 1851), p. 258, quoted in K. Rix, 'Henry Galacus Redhead Yorke', in P. Salmon and K. Rix (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1832–68* (forthcoming): <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1832-1868/member/bagnall-charles-1827-1884>.
- 37 'York Local News', *York Herald*, 24 Aug. 1844, British Library Newspapers online.
- 38 'Archery', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1844, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 39 *York Herald*, 21 Jan. 1843 and 12 Jun. 1847, British Library Newspapers online.
- 40 *Bradford Observer*, 4 Jun. 1846, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 41 *York Herald*, 27 Jun. 1841, partially quoted in Rix, 'Yorke'.
- 42 *York Herald*, 3 Jul. 1841, quoted in Rix, 'Yorke'.
- 43 'H.G.R. Yorke', *Gentleman's Magazine*.
- 44 *York Herald*, 24 Jul 1847, p. 5, British Library Newspapers online.
- 45 *John Bull*, vol. 27, no. 1,390, 31 Jul. 1847, p. 489, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 46 Rix, 'Yorke'.
- 47 Hansard, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-henry-yorke/index.html>.
- 48 Hansard, H.C. Deb. (series 3) vol. 59, cols. 881–912 (27 September 1841): <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-henry-yorke/index.html>.
- 49 *The Times*, 25 Jun. 1841, Times Digital Archive.
- 50 *The Satirist; or Censor of the Times*, no. 710, 23 Nov. 1845, p. 372, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 51 *John Bull*, vol. 25, no. 1,284, 19 Jul. 1845, p. 454, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 52 *John Bull*, vol. 25, no. 1,287, 11 Aug. 1845, p. 501, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 53 *The Age*, 19 Jul. 1840, p. 232 and 7 Nov. 1841, p. 355, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals online.
- 54 *The Times*, 13 May 1848, p. 8, Times Digital Archive.
- 55 *York Herald*, 20 May 1848, quoted in Rix, 'Yorke'.
- 56 Livesay, *Children*, p. 104.
- 57 Legacies of British Slave Ownership Project, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>.
- 58 A recent view of global history argues that, rather than dismissing micro-history, it is incorporated within a broad multi-layered view of global history. See Marek Tamm, 'A Framework for Debating New Approaches to History', in Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (eds.), *Debating New Approaches to History* (Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 2.
- 59 Royal Historical Society, *Race, Ethnicity & Equality in UK History: A Report and Resource for Change* (London, 2018).